

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 09581 01 OF 02 092050Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 /058 W
-----092121Z 007300 /75

R 091948Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5217
INFO AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 9581

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: SOME INDICATIONS THAT PCI LINE IS HARDENING

SUMMARY. WITHIN THAT PAST FEW DAYS THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SIGNS OF A HARDENING OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S (PCI) LINE IN THE INTER-PARTY TALKS FOR A PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD. NOT ONLY IS THIS REFLECTED IN A CERTAIN RIGIDITY IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC ISSUES PROPOSED FOR INCLUSION IN THE ACCORD, BUT ALSO IN A NEW INSISTENCE FOR MEASURES TO GUARANTEE THAT THE ACCORD, ONCE CONCLUDED, WILL BE CARRIED OUT. WE THEORIZE THAT INTERNAL PARTY PROBLEMS, AND/OR THE FEELING THAT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS' (DC) RESISTANCE TO FURTHER CONCESSIONS MIGHT BE WEAKENING, HAS LED THE PCI LEADERSHIP TO TAKE THIS SOMEWHAT MORE AGGRESSIVE LINE. WE DISCOUNT THE THEORY ADVANCED TO THE AMBASSADOR BY INTERIOR MINISTER COSSIGA TO THE EFFECT THAT THE CHANGED PCI TACTICS ARE THE RESULT OF PRESSURE FROM THE SOVIETS. END SUMMARY.

1. INRECENT DAYS WE HAVE SEENCERTAIN EVIDENCE OF A STIFFENING OF THE PCI OSITION IN THE MANEUVERING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 09581 01 OF 02 092050Z

GOING ON AS THE SIX POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE SO-CALLED CONSITUITONAL ARC SEEK TO REACHA PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD "ON CERTAIN THINGS TO BE DONE." MORE TIME IS NEEDED, HOWEVER, TO DETERMINE TO WHAT EXTENT THIS EITHER REPRESENTS A TEMPORARY TACTIC OR A MAJOR CHANGE IN STRATEGY.

2. THE FIRST HINT OF A MORE AGGRESSIVE PCI EVOLVED FROM THE MEETING AT PARTY HEADQUARTERS ON JUNE 1 TO WHICH ALL REGIONAL PARTY SECRETAIRES AND OTHER LOCAL PARTY OFFICIALS WERE INVITED. THE OBVIOUS INTENT OF THE MEETING WAS TO PREPARE THESE OFFICIALS TO RETURN TO THEIR JURISDICTIONS TO PROGAGANDIZE THE CURRENT PARTY LINE. SPEAKING TO THESE OFFICIALS, PARTY SECRETARIAT MEMBER GERARDO CHIAROMONTE, CONSIDERED BY MANY AS THE PRESENT SECOND IN COMMAND TO BERLINGUER, SAID THAT THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS QUOTE SHOULD END WITH A COLLEGIAL MEETINGS, WITH A MUTUALLY WORKED OUT PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD, LIMITED BUT SERIOUS, AND ALSO WITH A VISIBLE STEP FORWARD IN TERMS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND IN THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PARTIES ... AND TO US IT SEEMS INEVITABLE THAT THIS WILL TOUCH UON THE PROBLEM OF THE GOVERNMENT. END QUOTE.

3. ON THE HEELS OF CHIAROMONTE'S OBSERVATIONS, PCI CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES GROUP LEADER ALESSANDRO NATTA GAVE AN INTERVIEW TO THE ROME DAILY PAESE SERA (COMMUNIST CONTROLLED) ON JUNE 4. IN HIS COMMENTS, NATTA TALKED OF THE NEED FOR A GOVERNMENTAL RESHUFFLE, SUGGESTING THAT THIS COULD SERVE AS THE VEHICLE FOR PROVIDING A GUARANTEE TO THE FORCES OF THE LEFT THAT CONCRETE MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT THAT IS EVENTUALLY REACHED BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 09581 01 OF 02 092050Z

4. A FURTHER INDICATION OF A STIFFENING OF THE COMMUNISTS CAN BE FOUND IN THEIR REACTION TO INITIAL REPORTS THAT DURING A MEETING AT THE END OF LAST WEEK BETWEEN THE PCI AND DC EXPERTS, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON LAW AND ORDER ISSUES INCLUDING PREVENTIVE DETENTION AND INTERCEPTION OF TELEPHONE CALLS. THE EXCESSIVE SPEED WITH WHICH THE PCI MOVED TO DENY THESE REPORTS REFLECTED A DEPARTURE FROM THE PATTERN OF THE PARTY'S BEHAVIOR IN RECENT WEEKS.

5. FINALLY, EVEN DC CIRCULES HAVE BEGUN TO COMMENT ON A HARDENING OF THE PCI LINE. IN A PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON JUNE 7, INTERIOR MINISTER COSSIGA, WHO KNOWN TO HAVE GOOD CONTACTS WITHIN THE PCI WHICH TRANSCEND HIS PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP TO PARTY SECRETARY BERLINGUER, DREW ATTENTION TO THE COMMUNISTS' MORE AGGRESSIVE LINE. COSSIGA ATTRIBUTED IT TO PRESSURE FROM THE SOVIETS, AND HE INDICATED THAT MONITORING HAS INDICATED A HIGHER

FREQUENCY OF CONTACTS BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND ITALIAN
PARTIES IN RECENT WEEKS.

6. COMMENT WE FIND THE COMMUNIST BEHAVIOR SOMEWHAT PUZZLING,
ESPECIALLY SINCE THE PCI HAS BEEN TRYING EVEN HARDER THAN USUAL
IN RECENT WEEKS TO PORTRAY ITSELF AS A FORCE OF RESPONSIBILITY
AND REASONABLENESS, HAVING BACKED AWAY FROM ITS EARLIER THESIS
THAT A CHANGE IN THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL FRAMEWORK WOULD BE
ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO OVERCOME THE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 09581 02 OF 02 092056Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 /058 W
-----092120Z 007378 /75

R 091948Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5218
INFO AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 9581

7. WE SUGGEST TWO POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR THE PARTY'S BEHAVIOR.
THE FIRST IS THAT INTERNAL PARTY PROBLEMS, PARTICULARLY THOSE
RELATING TO THE ATTITUDE OF THE BASE, ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE
LATEST DEVELOPMENT. UNDOUBTEDLY, THE POSITION OF THE SOCIALISTS,
(PSI), WHO HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY TAKING A HARDER NEGOTIATING
POSITION, COMPLICATES LIFE FOR THE PCI LEADERSHIP IN DEALING WITH
ITS SKEPTICAL BASE. THE RAPID ABOUT-FACE ON PUBLIC SECURITY ISSUES
COULD HAVE REFLECTED A CONCERN THAT THE PARTY'S CONCESSIONS
WOULD NOT GO DOWN WELL WITH THE BASE, ESPECIALLY WITH THE PSI
SNIPING, WITHOUT

SOME EXPLANATORY GROUNDWORK AND PROPAGANDA BY
PARTY LEADERS. THE SECOND THEORY IS THAT THE LATEST
TRUN REPRESENTS A NEGOTIATING PLOY AT A TIME WHEN
THE PCI LEADERSHIP MIGHT PERCEIVE A CERTAIN SOFTNESS
IN THE DC NEGOTIATING POSITION. FROM ITS OWN STANDPOINT,
THE LEADERSHIP CERTAINLY CANNOT BE
FAULTED FOR TRYING TO GET ALL IT CAN AT A TIME
WHEN SOME IN THE RANKS ARE RESTLESS BECAUSE THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 09581 02 OF 02 092056Z

PARTY HAS SHOWN SIGNS OF SETTling FOR TOO LITTLE.
IT IS PROBABLE THAT COMBINATION OF THESE TWO FACTORS
HAS CAUSED A TEMPORARY MODIFICATION IN THE PARTY'S
TACTICS. HOWEVER, WE DOUBT THAT THE PARTY WILL
PURSUE THIS LINE TO THE POINT THAT RISKS A TOTAL
RUPTURE WITH THE DC IN THE PRESENT TALKS FOR A PRO-
GRAMMATIC ACCORD. THE CAUTIOUS PCI REACTION TO THE
JUNE 7 DEFEAT OF ABORTION LEGISLATION IN THE SENATE
SUGGESTS THAT THE PARTY DOES NOT WISH TO GO BEYOND
A CERTAIN POINT IRRITATING ITS RELTION WITH THE
DC.

8. FINALLY, WE DO NOT AGREE WITH COSSIGA'S THESIS
THAT THE CHANGE IN THE PCI LINE IS THE RESULT OF
PRESSURE FROM THE SOVIETS. WHILE WE HAVE NOTED A MODERATE
INCREASE IN THE EXCHANGE OF DELEGATIONS BETWEEN THE
PCI AND THE RULING PARTIES OF EASTERN EUROPE, WE ARE
NOT AWARE OF ANY SHARP UPTURN IN CONTACTS WITH THE
SOVIETS IN RECENT WEEKS, NOR CAN WE FIND A MOTIVATION
WHICH WOULD EXPLAIN A SOVIET DECISION TO INTERVENE
PRECISELY AT THISMOMENT.
GARDNER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY STRENGTH, COMMUNISTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, POLITICAL SUMMARIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 09-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977ROME09581
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770206-0593
Format: TEL
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770673/aaaacmbm.tel
Line Count: 206
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 52231782-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2213502
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOME INDICATIONS THAT PCI LINE IS HARDENING SUMMARY. WITHIN THAT PAST FEW DAYS THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SIGNS OF A HARDENING OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PA RT
TAGS: PINT, IT, PCI
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/52231782-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009